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C-TECHISM FOR FREE WORKING MEN.

BY THE SON OF A BLACKSMITH.

As I have taken it upon myself to write a Catechism for my fellow working men, I deem it proper to give some account of myself.

I was born in Jefferson county, East Tennessee, within six miles of Dandridge. My father was a blacksmith, and by industry he procured a good farm. He had ten sons, and no slaves. I had a taste for almost all kinds of business. During a number of years I farmed diligently, raised cotton, wheat and corn. When not farming, I employed myself at some other useful business. I would make a gate when one was needed, stock a plow, or make harnessing for the horses. I also made shoes for the family, and often helped my father in his shop. Thus I was "Jack-of-all-trades," and my father's family predicted that I would always be a poor man, because I could do so many things; and that prediction came well nigh being true. I am now sixty-eight years old, and I can not now call much of this world my own. I have had a long life and much hard labor, and I labor still. I have always felt a deep sympathy for the laboring classes of society; and now, when I must soon leave the world, I desire to do them the greatest good in my power.

CATECHISM.

Question 1.—What has broken up the peace of our nation, and trampled our glorious flag in the dust?

Answer.—The slaveholding power.

Q. 2.—Of what does the slaveholding power consist?

A.—It consists of three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders.

Q. 3.—What evidence is there that the slaveholding power has broken up the peace of the nation, and trampled our GLORIOUS FLAG in the dust?

A.—All the free States are loyal to the General Government, and in the slave States where slaves are few, as in Western Virginia and East Tennessee, there is but little rebellion; and where slaves are very numerous, there is the highest state of rebellion. These facts show clearly that the slaveholding power has produced the insurrection against the national Government.

Q. 4.—What has enabled these three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders to break up the peace of a nation of thirty-one millions of people?

A.—The holding of four millions of slaves, with lands on which to work them, has enabled them to break up the peace of the nation, large as it is. This is a combination large enough to endanger the peace and welfare of any nation, however large that nation may be.

Q. 5.—By what means does the slaveholding power so control the non-slaveholders of the South as to get up so large a rebellion?

A.—By working millions of men and women without wages, they deprive the poor white people of the means of profitable employment, and of schooling their children; consequently, the mass of the non-slaveholders are held in such a state of poverty, ignorance, and consequent dependence, as enables the slaveholders to control them as certainly as they do their slaves.

Q. 6.—Will not the continuance of the slaveholding power reduce the slaveholding States to utter barbarism?

A.—It has already to a great extent extinguished the sources of light, and, by its vices and crimes, has abolished the moral sense of the people.

Q. 7.—What evidence is there that the slaveholding States are sinking into a state of barbarism?

A.—The cruelties they commit upon innocent persons. Large is the number they have coated with tar and feathers; large is the number they have cruelly whipped; and large is the number they have murdered; vast are the robberies whole States have committed upon the national Government; vast

are the robberies committed on private persons; whole States have repudiated just debts. Vast is the rebellion raised against the general Government, without the slightest cause. All these facts show that the moral sense of the slaveholding States is abolished, and that there is a rapid returning to savage life.

Q. 8.—What other evils have the slaveholding power inflicted upon the free States?

A.—They are so numerous that only a few of them can now be mentioned. The slaveholding power, by getting up this great rebellion, has broken up the regular channels of commerce, and consequently has caused a stagnation of business, by which thousands upon thousands of our enterprising business men are broken up and reduced to poverty; and vast are the numbers of the laboring classes that are deprived of employment and reduced to suffering and want. The free States have been obliged to furnish men and money to resist this enormous slaveholding power, and save the Government from utter ruin. Hundreds of millions of dollars must be expended, and what is vastly worse, great must be the sacrifice of life. Many have already fallen upon the field of battle.

Q. 9.—Shall we suffer these three hundred and fifty thousand men, who have committed all these enormities, and who are now drenching this nation with blood, to continue to hold their unjust, ruinous power?

A.—No! never! They have forfeited their lives and property. Let us free their slaves. Let the working and business men of the nation demand this of the Government, and it will be done. Nothing short of this can ever make this nation a Union. Let this be done, and the down-trodden white people of the South will soon feel deliverance and shout for joy. The welfare of the whole nation demands the entire abolition of the slaveholding power. A thousand millions of dollars will not repair the damage they have already done, aside from the lives sacrificed, for which no reparation can be made. These three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders have clothed this nation of thirty-one millions of people in mourning. Shall this ruinous power be permitted to live and rise again and drench this land with blood? I call upon my fellow working men, and all who desire the welfare of this

nation, and entreat them, by all the principles of justice and humanity, and by the sorrows of those who are weeping over dear relatives slain in battle, to unite in demanding of the Government the abolition of the slaveholding power.

Q. 10.—Would not the slaves, if liberated, come into the free States, and be a nuisance?

A.—They will have no inducement to come to the free States. They can live more cheaply in the South than in the North, because less clothing and fuel are necessary, and the products of the South are more profitable than those of the North, consequently wages will be better. The women that are now working in the fields will go to house-keeping, and this will create a demand for a half more hands, and the larger part of the colored people of the free States will go to meet that demand. By the laws of affinity, the colored people will go together and occupy the warmer parts of the South, and the white people will occupy the cooler parts, and gradually a separation between the races will take place, by the operation of the laws of affinity, without any wrong.

Such as are opposed to colored people living in the free States, should go for freeing the slaves. That will, to a great extent, draw the colored people to the South. So long as slavery exists, the free colored people will be forced out upon the free States. Such as are opposed to the increase of the colored race in this country, should go for freeing the slaves. Slavery, by breeding slaves for market, unduly increases the race. When liberated, the colored people will increase by laws of marriage, and, consequently, they will increase less than when bred for market. So long as slavery exists, slaves will be brought in from Africa, in despite of all the laws that can be made. All who hate the negroes should go for freeing the slaves. It will lessen the increase of the race in this nation. Let not our hatred of negroes, nor our prejudices against them, induce us to suffer that power to exist longer, which has brought so much ruin upon our nation, and which is now drenching our land with blood, and reducing a large section of our country to a state of barbarism.

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Slavery in Rebellion—An Outlaw.

HOW TO DEAL WITH IT.

It is not to be denied that, as a nation, we are justly chargeable with Atheism, Profanity, Sabbath-breaking, Insolence, Stubbornness, Impatience of Authority, Strife and Murder, Intemperance, Licentiousness and Fleshly Indulgence, Stealing, False Swearing, Lying, and Covetousness. There is not a law in the Decalogue which we have not broken.

But the eye of this nation—filled with light by the Word, Spirit and Providence of God—is singling out another and specific evil as most surely the seed-sin of the present distress.

With remarkable unanimity and strength of conviction, it feels that the blood and sufferings of the oppressed are now crying from the ground against us. "The children of 'Africa' have sighed by reason of their bondage, and their sighing is come up unto God." This distress is the result of His "having heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; of His knowing their sorrow, and of His coming down to deliver them." (Ex. ii: 3, and iii: 7, 8.) "The hire of the laborer has been kept back, and the cries of them which reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath." (Jas. v: 4, 1.) Meantime the national conscience is responding, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." The nation has heard God's word "proclaiming liberty to the captive." It now hears his Providence "proclaiming the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God."

We see that our present distress comes from slavery, as the blasting lightning comes out of its black and thunderous cloud. Never was cause and effect more evident. This war is raging over

clama: set up by slavery. This is palpably the Slave-holders' Rebellion. The Slave-holding Interest is the only one originating, or now supporting it. Having accumulated a vast monied and political power, and believing itself to have a permanent hold upon the world by its monopoly of cotton-growing, it has risen against the Government, determined upon making it, and all the other Interests of the nation, subject to itself. Who does not acknowledge the truth of this statement? And who does not feel that if slaveholding had been out of the country, we should this day have known no North and no South, but should have been at peace: dwelling together in this good land as one united, prosperous and happy people?

This great distress has not come upon us by the direct will of men. The will of the nation was against it. All national parties have sought to avoid it; have compromised, till compromise ceased to be a virtue; have denounced agitation and enforced peace. They "have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people," not once only but many times, "slightly; crying 'Peace, peace,' when there was no peace." They were saying "Peace and safety" when this sudden destruction came upon us as a whirlwind. They forgot the terrible "MUST BE" in history—that "Day of Vengeance" never to be thrown off the track of guilt save by timely repentance—that Inevitableness of retribution planted of God from eternity in the nature of things, and working steadily on, night and day. In truth, God was not in all their thoughts. But now comes his day of reckoning. The harvest is ripe. We are called to reap what we have sown. The Slave-holding Interest was admitted and fostered as one of the great interests of the nation: our Constitution and laws, our army and navy, our senates and judiciary, have been contributing to its protection and power. It grew and strengthened itself. It has been reaching out and taking deeper and wider hold of the nation at every point. It has been heaping up capital. It has been striking hands and making treaties with the Agricultural Interest, the Commercial, the Manufacturing, the Mechanical, the Professional and Political Interests of the whole land. It has contracted alliances with all influential families. It has imparted its tone and given its laws to society. It has been shaping legislation. So patiently and skillfully has it applied every instrument to

its enlargement, that now the war raging over its arrogant claims is manifestly one of life or death to the nation. While we have been using gentle emollients upon this tumid cancer, in the vain hope of its insensible wasting and happy disappearance, it has been striking its poisonous roots in deeper and out wider; stealthily approaching the seat of life, and infecting the very blood of the nation; and now, when the knife and utter cautery are our only hope and remedy, we are at once afraid to touch and to leave it. We fear to touch it, lest the patient should die of the operation. We fear to leave it, lest the patient should die of its poison.

As this war and distress were not trivial or inexplicable in their causes, so they cannot be in their consequences. These are as solemn and vast as ever hung suspended upon battle. It is vain to conceal from ourselves that some of the most lasting interests of mankind are now at stake. A profound moral undertone, therefore, sounds through this strife. What man now fails to see, that the question is in suspense, whether this nation shall longer exist in the integrity of its expanding greatness; and with its free government, its safe constitutional liberties, in wide and equal enjoyment; in cheap administration, but secure possession?

But why contract the view? Not only the future of our own nation—with the inclosed fate of four millions of enslaved men, and that of their multiplying posterity through coming ages—but the whole continent of Africa rises before us, as deeply concerned in the decision. Nor her children only: but all the weaker races of men. And why stop with them? What is the testimony of these events before us; what the impartial and uniform testimony of History: what that of statesmen, like the great Washington; what, above all, that of the true word of God, concerning the sure ultimate demoralizing and ruin, even of the stronger races and nations, when persistently slave-holding and oppressive?

And this unspeakably solemn issue is to turn upon the further question, *whether the Slave-holding Interest is to triumph* in this whirlwind of destruction; and who will doubt that this depends upon the further question, whether slave-holding itself, with all which it includes of compact wealth and facility of combination, of arrogance and subtlety, of unscrupulous politics and flagitious immorality, of concentrated and jealous power, of aggressive claims

and domineering temper, of the ignorance, brutality, barbarism, corruption and suffering engendered by it; *whether slave-holding itself, with these its inevitable concomitants, is to be reinstated and perpetuated in the nation as heretofore, or is now to receive in itself the sentence of death?*

So then, whether we look at it in its causes or its apparently inevitable consequences, this distress should bring us as a nation, to seek God's mercy with quick and deep penitence, and to follow his will with prompt and firm decision.

But now, what is the spectacle we present before Him and the world? A nation in the throes of intestine convulsion over an evil, long cherished in its bosom; brought into judgment of God over it,—evidently threatened by that judgment with a speedy and terrible destruction for it,—conscience-stricken, and feeling in our heart that here is the cause of our swiftly-approaching ruin; yet hesitating—*hesitating*: people and government HESITATING, timid, irresolute what to do!

What then ought we to do? We are answered, "Support the Government," "Put down this Rebellion," "Restore the Union." We ask, HOW "support," "put down," "restore?" This is the very question, and the answer evades answering.

From the side of mere good common-sense, one might ask whether we can "support the Government" without subduing that which has risen up as the deadly *enemy* of the Government? whether we can "put down this rebellion" without putting down the *cause* of the rebellion? whether we can "restore the Union" without effectually breaking down *that* which has broken up the Union? Can we well and securely re-establish the unity of the nation, without utterly expurgating that element which, from the first until now, has been steadily disuniting it? The answer would seem to be very plain.

But, from the side of the Bible and religious faith, we would ask, whether a nation can be saved when once God has entered into judgment with it; when the "day of his vengeance" has come; except it put away that very sin upon which he has fixed that nation's eyes, and with which he has accusingly loaded its conscience? When that time arrives, will he be satisfied, though we should bemoan ourselves, proclaim prayer and fasting, and forsake our other iniquities?

Our visible hesitancy in this case portends evil to the nation. *Has not the Judge of all the earth hedged up our way, either to destroy slave-holding, or be ourselves brought low among the nations?*

Were it the Manufacturing Interest or the Marine Interest which had thus risen in rebellion determining to break up the nation, who would hesitate a single moment? We should crush it to the earth. And now, when it is a *flagrantly wicked* Interest which has so risen up, shall we be less decided? Now, when we understand that a righteous and avenging God is shutting us up immediately to the old alternative, "Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish;" now when we understand, and the conscience of the nation is thundering it steadily in its ear, that our national life can be preserved only as our sin in slave-holding shall be put to death, can we prove so tender of it, so infatuated with it, as to hesitate what to do until all doing will be too late!

In some form then, it would seem, this effectual decree must go forth from this nation, and that speedily: *The Slave-holding Interest being in rebellion against the nation and threatening it with destruction, shall no longer have protection under the national laws, but is forever outlawed as a public enemy, and Slave-holding is henceforth excluded wherever the national power extends.*

1. We are being shut up to this great step by the settled and still deepening moral and economical sentiments of the civilized world.

We also must consent to stand at the bar of public opinion. The judgment of the civilized world is solidly and unflinchingly uniting in pronouncing our slave-holding *infamous*; and the nation that shall insist upon supporting it, a public and common enemy to mankind. This opinion will not be reversed. The world has not hastily arrived at it. The Christian religion, the Spirit of God, and the progress of true knowledge have been slowly but irresistibly advancing the Christian world up to this point. Judgments so matured can never be reversed. They are then established forever for the use of mankind. Even Russia, last born of Europe, now lends the voice of her glorious example in emancipating twenty millions of serfs—slaves of the soil—to deepen the already deep abhorrence and spread the well-nigh universal condemnation of this great crime against man and sin against man's Father and Redeemer. What seems now true at the Court of St. James will ere

long be true at the Court of every enlightened and Christian nation—a slave-holding ambassador will be a stench in the nostrils both of government and people.

2. We are being shut up to this great step also by the public sentiment and conscience against slave-holding in our own nation: a degree of moral conviction that will not long endure trifling, or deception, or delay. Such moral convictions, whenever they come to exist, are internal fires—breaking out, if resisted, into volcanic revolutions.

It has long been painfully understood among the people, that the necessities of slave-holding require it to brutify its miserable victim, to repress his mind within certain narrow limits, to corrupt and debase his domestic life, to confuse and demoralize his conscience. It was necessary to his value as a slave, that he should not rise to high intelligence, or purity, or severe integrity. He was to be simply an intelligent beast of burden. Nothing was to be tolerated which should make him less contented or subservient as a slave.

But the nation pacified its conscience, for protecting this system, by hoping the master was made enough better and nobler by it to offset the wrong; that the white man was elevated as the black man was degraded, and thus a balance fairly struck. To-day the nation wakes amidst its terror to find that the brutalizing effect of slave-holding does not end with its victim; that its demoralization of the African, whatever that is, cannot be compared with its effects upon the American owner; and that like all other sin, it has recoiled to inflict its most terrible sting upon the perpetrator. The nation wakes from delusion to find the owner's eye become stony, *his* heart become adamant, the poison of asps to be under *his* lips, *his* house the abode of cruelty, *his* feet swift to shed blood. Fool that the nation was, to suppose the suffering and degradation of one member could be anything else than the suffering and the degradation of all the members with it. What has it not seen in place of that boasted magnanimity, veracity, integrity, bravery, chivalric nobility, generosity, dignity, mental and moral greatness, which were to be the proper fruits of this system of slave-holding civilization and slave-holding religion? What thefts and robberies! What low hate and malignant cunning! What shameless repudiation of public and private debts! What easy violation of most solemn oaths in

the Senate chamber, in the courts, and in private life! What cowardly and universal perjuries! What rapine and cruelty without respect to age or weakness or sex! What applauded murders and railroad massacres!

Amidst its dangers, the nation is getting new light on old questions in practical morals. This vast system was enriching us. Our hands were full of its bribes. It spread a golden veil before our eyes. Then we saw not its inherent and exceeding wrongfulness. The nation may be thankful for its advancing disenchantment. This vast system has now turned to impoverish and destroy. Under these new circumstances, our conscience is coming to discover the hideous character of the whole slave-holding system and its absolute antagonism to the immutable morality and righteousness of God. The old Prophets are allowed their right hearing, as they denounce destroying judgments upon the slave-holding nation. The royal law of Christ's Gospel is felt to be every way outraged by this legalized, but none the less brutal and cruel system of merchandizing the children of Christ and of God. The deep abhorrence which has thus come to exist toward that system, is not likely to be abated as this fratricidal war of its engendering goes on; is not likely to be silent. It will be heard. Already it flashes electric fire through the nation; already it hushes the nation's breath at the thought of hearing the enslaved millions proclaimed free men.

This public sentiment and conscience have been wrought to their present pitch, not by the will of man, but, against the great, and the rich, and the wise, and the mighty, by the Spirit, and the Word, and the Providence of God. They will not down at any man's bidding. They are as a fire shut up in the bones. They foretell a coming judgment of God. They will be more clear and emphatic till the destruction. They are the handwriting on the wall. They realize the coming crisis; that now is the Day of Vengeance of our God. Is that to fall upon the National Capitol or the palaces of slavery? Is the nation or slave-holding now to be destroyed?

3. We are being shut up to this great step by the demands of *public safety*. The nation is not wide enough for liberty and slave-holding to dwell together. We might exist, indeed, as a nation under a Slave-holding Despotism. But, if this nation is to be preserved as a *free* nation, enjoying the liberties of the fathers, and

-transmitting them unimpaired, then this Slave-holding Interest—now in rebellion against these liberties, and determined upon the destruction of their safe-guards—must be destroyed. The contest is simple. The Slave-holding Interest, grown powerful and domineering, has pitted itself against the Union. This war is not between North and South. It is *between the Nation* on this side, and *one huge, pampered, monopolizing Interest*—determined on dictating terms, and making everything subject to itself—on that side. The contest is joined on a plain issue. The prize at stake is the life of one party or the other. If the nation will not put away this sin, whose arrogant rebellion has brought it to the verge of destruction, then its own life and liberties, sooner or later, must be the price of that retention. The nation is in the folds of a monster tightening its coils steadily around it. Let the nation understand this death-struggle, as its antagonist does. Then will there be hope for its life.

Even could it gain a present respite from the necessity, by merely crippling and wounding this antagonist, Public Safety demands that it be wounded unto an utter, direct and positive death, lest even a deadly wound should be healed, and all the world again be found wondering after the beast. In common prudence Public Safety would seem to demand that the acknowledged core of so great distress shall not be left to rankle and fester again, and at some future hour, more carefully selected, destroy its life by a virulent outbreak, when the nation shall have been put under more effectual opiates and reduced by severer depletions. Public safety demands something more than a clearing out of the explosive materials and a scattering of the well-laid trains which this Guy-Fawkes' Slave-holding Interest has now, for more than thirty years, been laying under the walls and pillars of our glorious national edifice, in hope to "rend it from turret to foundation stone." *The thing that could plan such ruin must not live to do it again.*

Public safety demands that no bitter root of this towering and spreading tree, now dropping its pestilential poison over all the land into the hearts of the people, shall be left to sprout again; that the axe be laid at the root of the tree; that it be consumed, root and branch, in the flame of a great people's righteous indignation, lest they themselves be consumed of God; for our God is a

consuming fire. Let the nation demand that thus our rulers *see to it the Republic receive no detriment.*

But if this be indeed the day of Divine reckoning with the nation because of its slave-holding, *where else can we find safety*, than by putting away this iniquity at once, wholly and forever?

4. We are shut up to this great step, by the fact that *what public safety thus demands, is at length wholly consistent with good faith and public integrity.* REBELS CANNOT HAVE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

Until now, Slavery has been thought protected by Constitutional compacts. The Nation seemed pledged to leave it to the states and to protect them in their desire. While it remained thus sheltered under Constitutional pledges the nation could not bring the wheel over its neck.

But this Slave-holding Interest, in all the chief slave-holding states, *has now repudiated* the Constitution, with its pledges, and protections, and guarantees. By state conventions, by popular votes, by each public and legislative process, that Interest has rebelled against this shielding Constitution. By every method—by legal forms, by organized and consolidated rebellion, by arms, we have seen it throwing off the obligations of that Instrument, and placing itself outside its protections.

Has it now, any just claims to those protections? Can it now demand those pledges in its behalf? Shall we not see that it has no claims? that all former Constitutional trammels in dealing with it are taken off the national hands? That when the Constitution was renounced its every clause was renounced? Shall the nation *now insist* upon executing in its favor those rejected pledges? Is the nation any longer *bound* to protect or to spare that great rebelling Interest which has driven State after State into rebellion, stealing national property, sequestrating, confiscating, plundering and destroying whatever it can reach belonging to loyal citizens?

It is itself in rebellion—is therefore *outlawed*; *out from the protection of law*; and therefore by every principle, rightfully to be exterminated, whenever Public Safety, or even the welfare of the Republic, may seem to require.

So soon as the Slave-holding Interest palpably became a public enemy and dangerous to the nation, it might have been taken from the very horns of the Constitutional altar, and struck through the

heart. The Constitution was made for the nation, and not the nation for the Constitution. No Constitutional provision should stand in the way of saving the nation's life. No matter what the rebel interest that threatens it, or how protected, it should be slain. And now, when we find this great Interest, thus proved a deadly Public Enemy; no longer under Constitutional protection; outlawed by its own act; *to whom*, as being a rebel, *it is treason to give any "aid or comfort;"* and with no claim upon its former immunities; shall we hesitate whether to strike it down forever? When we find that it has itself swept away all its own former Public Rights, and all our alleged Constitutional obligations to it, shall we not see that God has been "hardening its heart," that he might deliver it over into our liberated hands for its destruction? so that we might deal with it freely, untrammelled, unhindered by any former covenants and obligations, simply on the grounds of safety and righteousness?

Let no man condemn this reasoning as fanatical, or as proposing a violation of public faith, until he first answers its argument.

Let it not be asserted, that "public faith requires the nation to spare any Interest, when in rebellion, because of pledges previously made." Rebellion against the nation and the Constitution cancels every right under that Constitution. No rebel has any claims upon a Government which he is in arms to destroy. He has forfeited life itself; much more than his former property-rights. Does he claim protection from pledges made to him while yet a loyal citizen, we answer that the established customs of mankind, the well-settled public law, the plainest dictates of reason, all deny his claims.

Let it not be said, that "the renouncement of the Constitution by this Slave-holding Interest, on its side, in no degree absolves the nation from maintaining that Constitution toward it." *For toward the rebel it is absolved from every pledge.* The Constitution was made to protect the loyal man, not the rebellious. The rebel stands outside its protection, and under its destroying wrath.

Let it not be said, "We entered upon this war, and our rulers have so said, not to interfere with Slave-holding or to destroy Slavery, and are therefore pledged against the plan of this tract." We answer by asking, what nation ever pledged its faith not to interfere with or destroy a rebel man, or a rebel monopoly, caught in the very

act of laying explosions under the National Existence, "to rend it from turret to foundation stone?"

Let it not be said, "You are changing the issue; instead of a war to uphold the nation, as it has been proclaimed, you are making it a war of emancipation." The unfolding character, spirit, aims and sources of power belonging to this rebellion, as the war has progressed, have shown us that this is the only Door of Escape for the nation from present or future disintegration and destruction; that Carthage must be destroyed, or Rome must fall. The Almighty God, who alone presides over the destinies of nations, has set before us this Open Door. "He openeth, and no man shutteth; He shutteth, and no man openeth." What shall the end of these things be? *We shall fall before the rebels until the nation act as He demands at our hands. Defeat will attend our arms, corruption and mismanagement our affairs, destruction brood the nation,* the history of Pharaoh and Egypt be ours, unless we yield thus to His will.

That this Door might be set wide open, He has used the infatuation of the Slave-holding Interest to liberate the nation from those former Constitutional pledges; He has thus made it consistent with strict public integrity and faith, henceforth to withdraw every protection, declare it an outlaw as being a rebel, and forbid its presence wherever the flag of the nation goes in power;—He has made this the only path of public safety, the only deliverance from national disintegration and destruction;—He has prepared the public mind and conscience to demand this result;—He has made the enlightened nations of the earth to abhor this Institution;—He has thus hedged up our way to a single Door of Escape. Can we "conquer our prejudices" and go through it; or shall we refuse, and be diminished, brought low, and be destroyed from among the great and prosperous nations of the Earth?

It is also said that "many slaveholders are still loyal, and therefore we are not to touch the Slaveholding Interest, lest these suffer with the guilty." But individual rights of property must be subordinate to the national life. Their suffering comes from being in bad company. This Great Public Enemy, now in deadly war with the nation and against the Constitution, must be outlawed, and so destroyed. In the last extremity, the nation can know no law but that of self-preservation.

The nation might well deal with these loyal slave-holders in the way of compensated emancipation. But even if it should not, their sacrifices in the loss of their slaves, would not be greater than multitudes of loyal citizens in other States are cheerfully making, and will be required to make, in carrying forward the defence of the nation's life to a finally successful issue. The men who love the nation, and stand ready to die for it, whether they be the owners of slaves or not, will be ready to say "Amen."

Then let the decree go forth from the nation through its authorities; in obedience to the Word, and Spirit, and Providence of God; in compliance with the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world; in response to the moral convictions of our own people; in answer to the emphatic demands of Public Safety, and in clear conformity with a just Public Integrity—the decree that "THIS SLAVE-HOLDING INTEREST, BEING IN REBELLION AGAINST THE NATION, AND THREATENING IT WITH DESTRUCTION, SHALL NO LONGER HAVE PROTECTION UNDER THE NATIONAL LAWS; BUT IS FOREVER OUTLAWED AS A PUBLIC ENEMY; AND SLAVE-HOLDING HENCEFORTH EXCLUDED WHEREVER THE NATIONAL POWER EXTENDS."

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CHRISTIANITY AND WAR.

"Conquering and to Conquer."—*Rev. vi. 2.*

MONTHS have passed since one word was needed from any source to lighten the public sense of the National peril. All hearts have been oppressed by it; the wisest have been at their wits' end, anxious, perplexed; on every corner of the streets men have asked, What are we to expect next? The future has been wrapt in impenetrable mystery.

The nature of Civil Government, as an institution ordained of God, founded in the character of man as a social and moral being, has been everywhere so freely discussed, on the platform and in the pulpit, that the mass of the people have come to understand, as never before, that conspiracy against a just and beneficent government is the most daring impiety, the deliberate lifting of a treasonable hand against the infinite authority of God.

The grounds or conditions upon which God has provided for the right of revolution are comprehended as never before. The people have come to understand that only when a government has long persisted in transcending the limits of its power, has become false to the objects of its constitution, and destructive of the divine ends it was ordained to secure, and for which alone it has a right to exist; when it undertakes to lift up that which is evil and honor it, and tread down that which is good and repress it, to forbid what God has commanded and enjoin what He has forbidden, or to permit what He has denied and refuse what He has allowed, till it has become the general conviction of all good citizens that the advantages of a revolution would far outweigh its necessary evils, *only then* may a people rise in their might and shake from their necks the unjust government which has become an usurpation, as our

* A discourse delivered in the Ninth Street Baptist Church, Cincinnati, on Sabbath evening, December 8th, 1861, by Rev. E. T. Robinson, Pastor. With deep regret we add that the author of this admirable Tract died a few months after its publication, at the early age of twenty-eight years. A beloved Pastor, an able and faithful preacher of the Gospel, a judicious but fearless advocate of the oppressed, and a man highly esteemed by his brethren of every name in the ministry—he was early summoned by the Master to "come up higher"—a blessed privilege to himself, but a sore bereavement to the Church and the cause of Christ. The will of the Lord be done!

ancestors shook off the yoke of King George III, as the lion shakes the dew from his mane.

The people have been educated upon the true relation of the Federal to the State Governments. The vague and superficial views which prevailed, even with many thinking and intelligent persons, have, in this emergency, which has revealed the momentous issues involved in the settlement of that question, been swept away. As the principle involved has been stripped of its disguises and brought into clearer light, it has been seen that the thing which our fathers intended to frame, and which they did frame, was a Central Government, and not an aggregation of loosely confederated States, whose members were mere partners at pleasure.

The *nature* of this struggle, so far as the mutual relation and institutions of the North and the South are concerned, and their comparative resources, in men, money, credit, soil, and navy, has also been frequently and ably set forth. Fairly has it been demonstrated, and faithfully held, that this is not a fanatical crusade against the domestic institutions of any part of the land, or an infringement upon the social or moral rights of any portion of the people, but a war for National Life, for the establishment of the foundations of Liberty—for just Government and Constitutional Law, against Treason, Despotism, wild Anarchy, and wicked Rebellion.

It is not to any of these points that attention is now directed; but rather to THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE AT WORK IN THIS STRUGGLE—which are its *vital forces*; the relation it bears to the progress of civil and spiritual liberty—the stake which Christianity has in it; or, in still other language, its position in those grand though sometimes terrible agencies by which Divine Providence is working out His stupendous purposes of grace in the earth. There is room certainly in this field for all good citizens to make much prayerful and profitable inquiry yet.

Our national, social, and personal sin and wickedness, had long cried to heaven for vengeance. The chastisement which, by the unmerited mercy of the "Governor among the Nations," lingered long, has come at last. Our guilt was too heinous; our Oppression, idolatry of Mammon, and contempt of lawful Authority were too glaring and dangerous. A holy God could no longer use so corrupt a people as an honored instrumentality, a prominent agency in carrying forward his gracious purposes in the earth. One of the clearest evidences that God has purposes of mercy toward this

nation, that we have yet a sublime mission unfulfilled, is the very severity of the testing to which we are now subjected—this purification by a baptism of blood. Long have we prayed for the coming of Christ's Kingdom, the progress of Civil Liberty and Christianity in the earth, the downfall of all organized systems of wrong; and if now the God of our salvation answer our prayers "by terrible things in righteousness," still let Him be "the confidence of all the ends of the earth," still let Him ride forth "Conquering and to Conquer." Doubtless God saw that the specific discipline demanded in the present stage of our national history was WAR; and this solemn mystery, in the midst of which we stand, is in answer to the prayer of his people.

It is not always times of quiet that are really most prosperous. Often, when every thing looks threatening to the eye of sense, the most rapid advance is being made in a nation's thought. When, as in our own land at this time, the great deep of the popular heart is stirred by a storm, and society is rocked to and fro as on tumultuous waves, until every part of the social framework quivers with the shock, God is often working out problems that will contribute mightily to the elevation and progress of the human race. To-day the great questions which affect the social and civil life of communities and states, are being looked into and discussed, not only by the educated few, but by the masses of the people, as never before.

There are times when our physical atmosphere becomes so charged with dangerous elements that nothing but the fierce blast of the hurricane, or the flaming wrath of the lightning, will sweep them away. Nervous and timid people quiver and shrink when God sends a fiery bolt through the heavens to drive away the deadly malaria. As the artillery of heaven breaks and blazes on ear and eye, they imagine that He in His anger is shaking the pillars of nature, and about to bury every thing in indiscriminate ruin. The difficulty is in not understanding the philosophy of storms. When the tempest is passed, a brighter heaven, a purer air, a gladdened and exhilarated earth attest the wisdom and goodness which presided over the war of the elements, and made their wrath as beneficent as it was terrible. Let God clear the deadly elements out of our murky political sky, "that the whole nation perish not," even though the convulsion and crash be startling, the timid stunned, and the electricity strike and kill here and there a man. War is a violent, but has often proved a most effective, remedy for national disease.

Do we look abroad over the world? In the progress of great principles—in the life and course of nations, there are single years which afford more ample material for history than whole centuries that have preceded. The present time is one of these historic epochs. A single glance will show that this is an age of activity and change.

What throne in Europe has not felt successive shocks? What nation on the continent can be named, but has been undergoing organic change? Within a recent period God has been shaking Paganism in China, Papacy in Italy—idolatrous Italy, which once gloried in the terrors of the Inquisition—and the Despotisms and Oppressions of all the world have seemed to rock and reel with the premonitory symptoms of their overthrow. The brave and noble Italian has delivered Sicily from the Bourbon yoke—the Bourbon King is driven from Naples—the Roman Pontiff, once the most formidable ruler in Europe, can hardly call one poor city his own,—the ten horns of the beast are beginning to hate the woman seated upon the seven hills, and to make her desolate and naked, and the promise now is that we shall see liberal institutions, complete religious toleration, and a Constitutional Government from the Alps to the Adriatic, and from the Austrian line to the farthest point of Sicily. Who does not feel the pulsations of the great heart of Humanity as it struggles for civil and spiritual liberty? Whose heart does not throb; whose pulses do not leap; whose blood does not quicken and glow with the hope and expectation of man's enfranchisement from ignorance and oppression, and a day of enlightened, happy, political, and civil liberty for the human race? Vain are his claims to manhood, whose eyes have no tears, whose heart no tenderness, and whose soul no shame for the despotism, wretchedness, and despair of men. The processes which work out this grand problem are necessarily slow and perplexing; out of the social fabric of a vast portion of this land, for years, there has come no light at all; but the peculiar institution is not so just and beneficent that it can stand the blaze of scrutiny turned upon it by a Civil War, though that war be inaugurated for the express purpose of fostering, perpetuating, and solidifying it. It will not come out unscathed by this sweeping conflagration. If it was not alien to the true genius of democracy—if its evils were not radical and abiding, while its benefits are but transient and incidental—if the declaration which makes it the corner-stone of the so-called Con-

federacy did not stultify the statements of all history—if it was the heaven-originated and heaven-sanctioned institution certain divines and statesmen have declared it to be, doubtless it would emerge from this conflict with new life and power, and, in the future, as in the past, repose as securely under the sheltering ægis of the Republic, as a planet in its sphere under the protecting reciprocal gravitations of the solar system. But its elements are *not* so sound, and its foundations are not so strong, that it can bid defiance to the shocks and convulsions which such a struggle must generate in society. The daughter can not be strangled unto death and the mother's heart feel no answering death-pang.

Ought not the followers of Him who said He came to "deliver the captives, and open the prison doors to the bound," to rejoice even now, that he is going forth "Conquering and to Conquer?" The cries of the oppressed, robbed, and benighted of earth have entered into the ears of the Lord of Hosts, and the great commotions that are abroad can not be stilled—the commotion at home, *I would not have it stilled* by any other voice than that which quieted the waves of the Galilean Sea.

We live and work in a time of action, power, history; when, in every department, in science, adventure, government, men are moving, acting, advancing. Everywhere is the loosing of social bonds, the rocking and tilting of thrones, the restlessness of mind, the spirit of enterprise making itself felt—the very earth quivers with violent exercise—the sleep of the world is over—its solemn dream is ended. And blessed be God, in all this activity *the Christian mind of the world is in the lead*. Indeed, *Christian sentiment*, working its way ahead, lying back of all mere occasions and proximate causes, *is what is producing this restlessness and change*. A superficial observer might not see the vital forces that are at work. The masses of our own people do not comprehend the fundamental and vital nature of the issues of the conflict now raging among us. To one who looks only on the surface of events, it might seem that a spirit of misrule, long kept down by the strong hand of power, was trying to break loose from all restraints, and assume the absolute supremacy; or that the world was trying to make up for years of torpor by indiscriminate war upon every existing institution and custom. But one who looks beneath the surface of things, and going beyond the proximate motives of individual action, inquires into the ultimate reasons of human conduct, will

discover in these great movements in all parts of the earth, which excite astonishment and awaken expectation, *some grand Christian ideas, struggling for development*; shaking off the influences that have held them down, and prevented the world from seeing their beauty and feeling their power. Long ago it was promised that Christianity should be in the world like the leaven which the woman hid in three measures of meal, and the whole was leavened. The fulfillment has been in progress. Christianity has been steadily permeating all forms of society, and molding more and more the whole structure and mass of the civil and social life of the world. The fundamental truths of the Christian scheme are radical, revolutionary. The old charge brought against Christianity is just; it turned the world upside down in the beginning; and, in spite of all opposition, it is still going forth "Conquering and to Conquer."

Standing in the light and teachings of history, prophecy, and promise, looking out upon the formidable problems of our time, we not only believe that Christianity will grapple and master the resistances that confront it, but that wars, rebellions and revolutions will be made, as hitherto, the servants of Christ, waking the energies of men, laying bare great principles which get covered up, increasing the energy of evangelizing influences, breaking the seals of prophecy, and helping on the world toward that era of refitted perfection and bloom, for which all past history has been one magnificent series of preparations.

Since the beginning of this struggle, thousands of Christians have paused to ask, How far the spirit which unsheathes and brandishes the flaming sword of war is compatible with the peaceful principles of the Gospel? How far one can yield himself to its influence without disowning his allegiance to a more exalted than any earthly banner—the banner of Prince Immanuel? Because the conquests of Christianity are not to be gained by the sword, many have honestly hesitated to take the sword in defense of civil institutions. They have said, that though in the old kingdom of Israel power to make war was conferred by its laws, yet the new kingdom, which Christ came to set up, is purely a kingdom of Peace, whose subjects were not permitted to fight, even to prevent Jesus from being delivered into the hands of his enemies. And so they were not. And so it *is* a kingdom of peace, relying not at all on the sword or civil arm for protection or punishment: but laying its foundation in the affections, it pushes its conquests by love, and is effective under any

government. The weapons of our warfare, mighty through God, are not carnal. Religious authority is to be supported by religious means, and not by violence. But in introducing Christianity, God has neither annulled civil authority, nor abolished the use of the sword in supporting it, but has expressly sanctioned both. The magistrate is declared to be "the minister of God," that "beareth not the sword in vain," sent "to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." And yet the question has pressed itself home to many Christian hearts, Can men go up, with their hands reeking from the slaughter of the battle-field, and their hearts quivering with the inspirations of human patriotism, to the solemn ordeal of the judgment, and at once put on the stainless garments of the glorified, and join the anthems that make up the choral harmonies of heaven? If such questions could not be satisfactorily answered, it would be impossible to secure the support and enthusiasm of Christian people in any war.

Undoubtedly war does not belong to the highest class of agencies for the advancement of humanity; yet it does not, therefore, follow that in human nature's depraved condition, and as one of the penalties and consequences of the Fall, the sword is not made, by a mysterious Providence, an appointed instrument of human progress. There is not a question that it belongs to a very imperfect state of society, and that in the glorious period toward which, in the Providence of God, and under the blessed influences of the Gospel, the race is moving forward, the mysterious and terrible necessity of war will cease. From a higher plane than that which we now occupy, regenerated humanity will regard, with wondering gratitude, its escape from the darker times, when the deep and festering diseases, the malignant cancers of the social and political body, had to be cut and cauterized away by the terrible surgery of the battle-field. But we have not reached that day yet; the theories and speculations of peace societies to the contrary notwithstanding. The game of war is not yet played out. The millennium is an epoch farther off than many dreamers and would-be interpreters of prophecy have supposed.

War, in the abstract, revolting as it is to the common sentiments of humanity, and opposed to the spirit of Christianity—war, fearful as is the scourge even in the justest cause, may yet sometimes intelligently be waged in the name of God. The student of history, as he measures upon the broad scale of the centuries the results of

national struggles, and sees how, in all the past, the conflict of arms has been a grand though terrible agency of Divine Providence for the overthrow of oppression and wrong, and the establishment of liberty and law, is not alarmed at the mere name even of *civil war*; and when he sees a distinct issue of right and humanity in the contest, does not shrink from the shock of battle. The pains of civil war in a single State have sometimes given birth to freedom for ages. Was it not so in that long struggle of the Netherlands, in the sixteenth century, against the power of Spain, in league with the Papacy? Who shall say that the Reformation itself would not have been wiped out in blood, had not the Netherlands drawn the sword against the Spanish Inquisition upon their soil, and pressed their principles to the dread issue of battle? Who shall say it was not the "great agony of local war through which the liberty of Holland was ushered into life," that gave civil and religious liberty to England and America?

When the restoration of Charles II had brought back upon England that course of corruption in Church and State, that luxurious wickedness, that insidious and demoralizing tyranny which had been arrested by Cromwell and the Commonwealth, Owen, and the pious and patriotic men of his time, vainly sought to restore and save the nation by prayer and self-humiliation and the preaching of the Word alone. Days of fasting, faithful preaching, solemn warning, reached not the root of the evil. Treachery and tyranny were in the blood of the Stuarts. There was but one remedy. Godly men would have healed Babylon, but she would not be healed: therefore the Lord raised up a prince and leader of the people, and the spirit of bigotry, treachery, and tyranny was cast out of the English Church and State to return no more, when the Prince of Orange repeated the terrible discipline of civil war which Cromwell had augured. What neither prayers, nor parliament, nor petitions, nor compacts, nor conventions could do for purifying and saving the nation, was done effectually and finally in the battle of the Boyne.

In the memorable struggles for civil and religious liberty through which England has passed, two principles of the Divine government have been illustrated. The nation, though sinning grievously, yet had in it the salt of a gracious preservation—a true Israel. There remained enough love of justice, freedom, and righteousness to form a nucleus of crystallization for a better order of things. God at once

chastened and healed that people. They were visited to be purified, but not forsaken. But the Babylonish element within the nation refusing to be rectified, waxing more insolent and defiant, till her iniquity was lifted up against the skies, must fall under the righteous indignation of Jehovah. Babylon became a threshing floor, and the flail of war, in the hands of an aroused people, made her as chaff before the wind. The time to thresh her had come.

It was remarked not long ago by one of the profoundest readers of history, that "*blood* is the cement with which every great principle and right has been built up in the world." What have we from the past worth the having that has come to us without blood? Christianity was cemented by the blood of the martyrs. Religious liberty and civil and constitutional freedom have been built up by the mysterious potency of this precious cement. I trust it is not irreverent to add, that the great event which shall fill eternity with its rejoicings, the event which achieved a salvation that shall be the everlasting wonder of the universe, was yet, according to the eternal purpose of God, and the principles of his righteous character and government, inaugurated with blood. He required the sacrifice of life as its indispensable condition.

We, who inherit what the blood of the past has purchased and built up, ought not to grow squeamish and sickly at the mention of war. If the institutions of freedom, order, and righteousness, cemented for us with the blood of the fathers, are assaulted and shaken, let us not withhold that which alone can cement them anew; especially when we see, in looking over the history of the past, that war has neither been without its analogies in the Divine economy, nor without its recognized and appointed place, in that grand reservoir of means and agencies by which an inscrutable Providence is working out his wise and gracious designs.

The struggle which now convulses this nation is AN ANTAGONISM OF IDEAS. Well has it been said that "the one great, living, glowing idea born of the Bible and nurtured by Christianity—the *divine franchises of the human mind*, is the heart and soul of the forces whose tread to-day shakes the world as never before." Historical readers have often noted the fact that two forms of civilization struck this continent the same year, two opposite theories of society and government. One was Christian and vigorous, and has developed westward, and still westward, carrying the institutions of religion, education, civil liberty and social order, until now, surmount-

ing all mountains and streams, like a shining arch, it reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, crowning with glory that broad and fertile belt of Territory, which is the granary of the nation. The other contained elements of barbarism; ideas of caste, of royal blood and servile blood, foisted upon the world by polytheism, and has extended southward and south-west, carrying also its appropriate instrumentality, its peculiar forms of society, and ideas of government and religion. The conflict which now culminates in the stern arbitrament of battle, was then inaugurated; the year the first colony was planted at Plymouth Rock, and that Dutch ship entered Jamestown. It is the same struggle which has shaken the world for the last thousand years more than any and all other causes combined; the same underlying antagonistic forces are at work, that were in nearly all the great struggles of Europe, in which modern civilization had its birth and its baptism. The government has tried, by concessions and compromises, by exalting expediency above right and the Higher Law, to stave off a conflict which antagonistic ideas were bringing upon us all the more certainly and rapidly because of a practical ignoring of the facts. But the stern "logic of events" has brought us to the issue. The great debate in this country is now to be settled for all time. The power that has been conquered on the moral battle-field now appeals to the field of blood. Vanquished in the controversy of argument, it has dared us to the controversy of arms. Those who have fought successfully the first half of the battle on the field illuminated by argument, are now called upon to "don a different panoply, and vanquish finally the old foe on the field darkened by carnage." The challenge is accepted, because *the battle, wherever waged, on the moral or the carnal battle-field, is of the Lord*. The latest fruits and developments of Christianity in modern civilization are imperiled. Set as we are to guard and transmit them, we must take up our march in the path His providence has opened, and not seek to stay His hand, even though it be red with vengeance. The moral forces which move the world have made this struggle a necessity. God has put upon us an emergency in which the honor of our history, the touching memories of the past, the goodly heritage of the present, the fate of our posterity, the progress of Christian civilization, the prevalence of righteousness in the future, and the value of all that is best and dearest in earth and time, is given in large measure into our keeping. Ours is the privilege of living unselfishly, of sharing and helping in the great

popular enthusiasm for Liberty and Truth. Not to every generation is it given thus to see and to assist the opening of the gates of a new era.

When systems of wrong grow to gigantic proportions, and the pressure of moral causes to overthrow them leads on to revolution and war, the battle-field becomes the rallying point of principles as well as armies, "the anvil on which God hammers and shapes a nation to the end of his designs." War sowed the seed of the best existing government on the globe. We have civil and religious liberty to-day, because, three hundred years ago, there were found amid the dykes and fens of Holland a people who had faith in the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, as well as in the Articles of Synods, and the preaching of Reformers, and who did not shrink from the cost, the toil, the suffering of civil war, when a righteous cause demanded this sacrifice. Christ's cause in this world is not more involved in the success of our missions than in the success of our arms.

But does all this sanctify war? No, it does not. Nor does it argue that war is ever any thing less than a terrific scourge to a nation. A violent and poisonous remedy is not sanctified because it sometimes casts out a disease and saves a man. In the human constitution, even the excision of a limb is sometimes the only condition of preserving the life of the patient. A part has to be remorselessly cut away for the benefit of the whole. So in government, the peace and good order of society has to be maintained sometimes by the seemingly merciless sacrifice of human life. Seeming cruelty for the moment and to the few, is kindness and mercy to the many for perpetuity. This does not furnish the slightest justification for those who wantonly bring on a war: but it does justify a thinking and conscientious people in accepting the terrible necessity.

As a people, we have not been developed and matured in the school of adversity. History furnishes no parallel to our prosperity. We have been vain-glorious; we have rioted in the blessings of peace, and become drunk with abundance. But when we remember that God has never called a man or a nation to ripe, sober, and enduring greatness, but through trial upon trial, we could hardly expect or desire longer to escape. Our present struggle is not unlike those through which the English people have passed, and by the stern discipline of which they have grown strong. Nearly every advance in the theoretical perfection of the British Government has not been thought out by political philosophers, but worked

out from popular revolutions. We shall gain wisdom and strength, a fuller understanding of our political compact, and a firmer grip upon the great principles which lie at the foundation of all our institutions, by this rough smiting.

But some men hesitate, and ask, What is to be the final issue of this war? What are we coming to? GOD ONLY KNOWS. The precise modifications of our political forms, and the measure of social, moral, and religious good that shall grow out of it, no one can tell. It is not our business now. Our duty to-day stands in the clearest light; it is all we can attend to. We are neither to rush ahead nor loiter behind the leadings of Providence, but, with watchful eye and earnest heart and willing hand, we are to study, in "signs of the times," the Master's bidding. We are to stand in our tracks, and fight this Rebellion to the bitter end, and carry every thing with us that is necessary to bury it beyond all possibility of resurrection. Any thing less would be a debauching of conscience, the humiliation and breaking up of the government, the degradation of every man in the North. There is no other outlet, but what would call down upon us the contempt of the world, the execration of posterity, and the vengeance of heaven. I know not what the end will be: but the remark is credited both to Napoleon and Cromwell, "No man ever goes so high as when he does not know where he is going." It is so with nations. I know that the Being "who sitteth upon the circle of the earth," sees the end distinctly, that He will guide us to the issue, making the wrath of man to praise Him, and restraining the remainder thereof, and there I am willing to leave it—praying that the evils which have long been humbling and threatening us as a people, may be now corrected. That they may be, we are to *stand where we are, do our duty, and put our trust in the God of Battles*; for, after all, preaching and prayer are no substitutes for deliberation and wisdom, for manly determination and self-sacrificing effort.

But it is a loss of so much money! What of that? We have worshiped a "golden calf" too long already. But it will leave us with such a hopeless debt! All the better. We shall be healthier every way under a debt than without one. Too much occasion have we given for what has been sneeringly said of us by other nations—that the American sense of honor, and estimate of character and principles, bore no just relation to their love and devotion to the dollar. Let every city be razed to the ground, swept,

sacked, and burned—let Washington, Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis lie in ashes, rather than we yield, or reconstruct, or *Compromise*: for now there is no compromise except in yielding.

I know not how long or dreary the wilderness may be, but we shall reach fruitful vales beyond. I know not how the darkness of the night may thicken; but I know dew is gathering upon every spot, to sparkle in the morning sun. I know not but the storm-cloud may be darker yet, but I begin to see, in recent developments, the bow of mercy laid upon its bosom, God's promise of a fairer, truer prosperity than ever. I expect blood worth more than yours or mine, will flow still more freely, but it all looks marvelously like the Red Sea, intervening between our house of bondage and the Canaan of universal Freedom. I know the costliest, richest pearls are found beneath the roughest billows; the whitest alabaster comes from the stormiest coast, and the purest gold out of the fiercest ordeal of the furnace.

Never in custom's oiled grooves
The world to a higher level moves,
But grates, and grinds, with friction hard,
On granite boulder and flinty shard—
The heart must bleed before it feels:
The pool be troubled before it heals;
Ever by losses the right must gain,
Every good has its birth of pain.

It were well for nations as well as individuals, to take John Bunyan's advice, and learn how to descend into the valley of humiliation with good grace; for one of the deepest principles of God's government in all kingdoms, is that life comes out of death; the highest exaltation is wrought out through deep humiliation. "The mount of transfiguration," for men or nations, always "lies over beyond the valley of self-denial." To ascend the one, it is necessary first to go down into the other.

A man is never truly born till he is born again. Nor is a nation. This nation was born in the sorrow and pain of the Revolution. It is now passing the second birth, out of a somewhat reckless and rollicking boyhood, into a purer and soberer national manhood. But the darkness and suffering that this struggle into a higher life costs—the real humiliation—the sacrifice of life—the wreck of hopes—the desolation of families,—let us not forget. With tender sympathies and tearful petitions, in every worshiping assembly, in every praying circle, in all our Sabbath convocations, at the family altar, in every place of secret prayer, let us remember those who have

gone forth from Christian homes, with the kisses of Christian mothers on their lips and cheeks; who have left behind them all that men hold dear—sweet babes and young wives and thriving homes, and not a few, maiden brides, for this new wedlock to the sword that fights for freedom and for law.

But a brighter day is beyond—a good that more than makes amends for all this evil. The world is struggling upward. While the intricate courses of events, the devious ways of nations, the winding and confused passages of human progress indicate, to the skeptical and unilluminated mind, no definite aim—to the Christian, standing in the light of the Sun of Righteousness, there does appear amid the utmost convolutions and confusions of history, lines of order, waymarks of advancement, traces of high moral destination, showing that beneath all the agitated elements of human passion, and stormy tides of war, age after age a strong and pure under-current of love has been silently propelling the enterprise of heaven—showing that the Divine Head of the invisible Kingdom is slowly evolving from this chaos of human sin and suffering a beautiful and perfect system. The central and harmonizing line throughout history, limiting all currents, and determining their direction, is the progress and complete triumph of Christianity. In this interest the world is governed, as for this consummation the world was built. Here runs the central range of history, and all events are rightly interpreted only in this radiance.

When we remember that God has purposed and promised to establish Christianity; with what wisdom he fitted it to man's deepest wants; through what vast preparatory agencies he brought it to our knowledge; that it has resisted successfully the terrific assaults of power, overcome philosophies and armies, and conquered opposition enough to have sunk any other religion out of sight and memory of the race a thousand times over; when we remember how peculiar skepticisms and gigantic abuses have melted before its beauty and authority; how the pillars of despotism have trembled from the seed it has dropped beneath them; that when girded and trammelled in showy and poisonous heresies, it burst forth with renewed vigor from the system of sacraments that encased it; that it has reached out its molding influences into art, literature, commerce, government, and in all forms of human life has now a development increasingly free and rich; that already it has silently though significantly thrown a chain of missionary citadels around

the globe; and that history, which must seem so defective unless Christianity filling the earth shall complete it, will then be unfolded to so noble a method; we not only see across all the centuries that pathway of living light and life, created by the march and conquest of the Christian Church, at once pledge and prophecy of the complete triumph and permanent supremacy of Christianity in the earth, but we hear, in all these convulsions, revolutions, and wars, the voice of Providence crying in the wilderness of this outcast world, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord: make straight in the desert a highway for our God"—we hear the distant rumbling of His chariot wheels as He comes onward, "Conquering and to Conquer."

Listening to the manifold voices of history, seeing in the present, not only here and there one touching the hem, but the folds of Christ's earthly garment sweeping over the nations, and glancing at the promises that stud the arch of God's Word, the horoscope of the future seems indeed glorious, promising a close to the turbulent drama of human history, so splendid as to overshadow with beauty the gloom of its beginning, and the trial of its progress—promising that consummation long ago present to the prophet's vision and to the Omniscient eye of the prophet's God, when Christ's hand shall be set in the sea and his right hand in the rivers, "and all commerce which makes the sea its pathway and treasure-house, shall bow submissive to Christian science, ministering to the unity and evangelization of the nations"—when no ocean shall toss its waves and no river roll its waters beyond the precincts or exempt from the prerogatives of Christ's dominion, but all knit into one common consecration, the nation shall learn war no more, His kingdom shall be established and His salvation known from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth; when

The mighty east shall bless the west,
And sea shall answer sea,
And mountain unto mountain call,
Praise God, for we are free.

The inspiring fact that the four ruling powers of the world, England, France, Russia, and the United States are Christian, is the common property of all intelligent men. It is morally certain that these nations are to sway politically the destinies of the world. The progress of their arms, or the diplomacy that opens the door for their merchandise and commerce, opens the door also for the Gospel: and in the light of such facts and promises we can hear in this war,

as in all the great struggles of history, the tread of the advancing host that puts to flight the aliens.

We live at a time in the world's history when events as rapid in their succession as they are startling in their magnitude, splendor, and importance, are chasing each other as wave chases wave upon the sea; a time when prophecy converges most swiftly toward its accomplishment, and when all the triumphs foreshown in the Apocalypse seem to be sounding at once on the air.

Remembering the vials that are to be poured out on the lands—the convulsions that have rocked the old world within a recent period—the successive shocks that have been experienced by all the thrones of Europe; and who it was that said, “I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come;” beholding the lines of prophecy converging, and the trains of God's Providence growing nearer and more crowded, deepening to a great center, and indicating some mighty consummation, as citizens of “a kingdom which can not be moved” or hindered, we look deeper than the surface of events, and beyond the tumults of the people, the din of arms, and the smoke of battle, and catching the sound of his His chariot rolling on “Conquering and to Conquer,” we lift our song of expectation:

The kingdom of Christ, is it near? Is it near?
Are his chariot wheels the sounds that we hear?
Are his angel couriers nigh?
While nations are shaken, and storms, stooping low,
Seemed winged with disasters, and freighted with woe,
Are the angels half way down the sky?

O eyes dim with weeping, and hearts faint with fear,
The millennial morning, serenely and clear,
Shall dawn on humanity yet.
These terrible sounds will die out from the air,
And Peace walking slowly, gather flowers for her hair,
From fields where the fierce armies met.

The name of CHRIST JESUS, like music, shall sound,
Eternal, immortal, invisible, crowned
King over a kingdom sublime.
Great Leader and Ruler and Lord over all,
The empires of Satan before him will fall
Dark dust in the rubbish of time.

Great King, we await thee! From watch-towers of prayer
Expectant we gaze through the sin-troubled air,
And with far-reaching vision we see
That thy throne standeth firmly, eternal, sublime,
While still through the mists and confusion of Time,
The earth climbeth upward to thee.

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EMANCIPATION.*

WHAT IS THE QUESTION to-day that hangs its dark problem cloud-like above us, and flings its shadow over the land? There is but ONE question. Till now, men would not look upon it as the next question to be met in our national progress. To multitudes it never seemed practical till now. It has been rising before us, like a mountain on the far horizon's verge, as the traveler presses near. At last it bars our way. We have come to the mountain wall. There is no going round. There is no retreat. There is no standing still. Through it, or over it, we must advance.

There is no question to-day *whether armed rebellion shall be put down*. That purpose is fixed. Cost what it may of blood and treasure, of fields laid waste and cities burned, the highways of commerce torn up, and the busy hum of human industry silenced, the sorrow of desolate homes, and great burdens laid upon our necks for years to come,—the front of rebellion is to be rolled back into a gulf so deep that not one symbol of its defiant power shall ever appear above the wave. The parricidal hands that lift themselves against our mother's bosom, though they were the dearest our own had ever clasped—though the same ancestral fountain made their palms and ours warm, we hesitate not to dash aside, to lop away in such sacred defense. There was a time when it was a question, Will the North, will the Loyal fight for the Union? The doubt griped the heart of the nation as with a mortal spasm. But that hour and that doubt have long since passed.

Nor is it a Question *whether the Union is worth fighting for*. It did seem to here and there a heart, that if our territorial nationality could only be preserved by dashing section against section in the

* Substance of a Discourse delivered in Park Street Church, Boston, on Fast Day Morning, April 3, 1862, by REV. A. L. STONE, D. D.

shock of arms, awakening the malign and murderous passions that rage along the front and in the rear of battle, showing to the world in this latest age of light, and in this fairest home of Christianity, the spectacle of brothers armed against brothers' life;—and rebel States and rebel men could only be made to bend the knee and pay allegiance with the sullen face and bitter memories of an humbled and conquered people, the issue were not worth the terrible cost. But it soon came to be seen that not the mere credit of victory for the national arms, not the mere supremacy of the rightful sovereignty, not territorial Unity and the greatness of the Republic, were at stake, but that the ripest fruits of the world's slow progress, and the most precious hopes of enlightened man, rested on this single venture. It was a contest not baldly between Union and Disunion, but between Law and License, between Order and Anarchy, between a Christian civilization and brutal barbarism, between the age and the forces of iron, and the age and the forces of light and love. The cause of the Union was thus seen to be worth the sacrifice, put the estimate where we would.

It is not a Question *whether it is the right of this nation to be one nation.* We may look quite overgrown to foreign eyes. They may watch our towering stature and swelling bulk with jealous alarm. They may measure on the map the magnificent proportions of our domain, looking off on two oceans, and sending down navigable waters, toward either pole of this Northern Continent, with a soil so rich and productions so varied, with industry so rewarding, and art and enterprise so adventurous and resolute, and argue that it were better for the world's peace and progress, that we should be broken up into fragments, partitioned off into separate and rival kingdoms, that should watch against and prey upon each other. But we are not bound to take that view. We shall hardly see it in that light. This great territory is ours, fairly ours, all ours. We encroach upon no power on the footstool, by occupying our own. The outlay of purchase money, of means for national improvement and national defense, bids us be one. The ordinance of nature bids us be one—an ordinance written in unbroken mountain ranges, and great rivers, and valleys without one rib of earth or rock to mar their continuity and hint at national bounds. The past of a common history and prosperity, the universal acceptance of the same forms of civil life and Government, the sacred pledges and covenants of representative conventions, the old flag, borne to earth's end, and ocean's farthest shore, with each

unit of confederate life, publishing its vow of fealty in the floating stripes, and the constellation of sister stars, the power of this unity as a testimony for all that we stand for of larger freedom, and more sacred privilege for men and nations, all agree in our right to be "one and inseparable, now and forever."

The Question *whether we shall be able to conquer*, is not one which we in these latitudes care to argue. We suppose it has been shown that Northern manhood is at least equal to Southern. Any just comparison of means and resources, of power to endure the strain and bear its burdens—of numbers, discipline, might and generalship in armies and fleets, reveals the vast preponderance of the Union cause; successive victories and conquering advances tell the same story; so do the words of cheer from all our homes, that follow these advances, more heartening and fortifying to our soldiers than thousands of enforced recruits, and especially the set and grim expression on every Northern face, that speaks the fixed determination to pause nowhere, whether for reverses or for victories, so long as one traitorous hand wields a weapon of rebellion against the Union of these States.

The real question which, as a nation, we are facing to-day is, **WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH FOUR MILLIONS OF SLAVES?**

I will not call them *African* slaves. They have no memories of Africa; they never had homes in Africa; they never saw Africa; they have no longing for Africa. They have African blood in their veins, diluted, mingled, whitened. They are *American* slaves. They were born here in our "*sunny South*." They love the land and the soil of their nativity. They love its scenery and its climate, and are suited to its occupations. They do not desire to flee from the scenes amid which their lives have been spent. It is only slavery they flee from. If some benevolent agency were to remove them to the land of their remote ancestry, they would generally feel it to be expatriation and exile. This land gave them birth, this land has held them; it has made itself their home. This land ought to provide for them within its borders. It is in this land these "native Americans" desire to remain.

What shall we do with them? How shall we provide for them? This is not the question, what shall we fight for? There is but one answer for that question. We are fighting to put down rebellion, to master treason, and restore the shattered Union. But war's successes, every one of them, bring up the question anew, "how shall we provide for these nomads, wandering to and fro without a master, and without a home?" It is not a question embarrassed now by the counter-plea

of "State rights." Rebel States have lost prerogative on the soil for which they once could legislate. They have no rights that must bar the national will. Martial law, military necessity, reign supreme. A brief while ago, there was but little, it was thought, the national Government could do directly on this question. To stimulate our zeal, then, and fire our hearts, looked like spurring a high-blooded courser against a dead blank of wall which he could not over-leap nor break through: now the broad fields of the slave-zone lie open to our action, and God in his providence is compelling us to act.

The whole question is before us. It is not, what are we to do with fifteen hundred contrabands at Fortress Monroe, or with twelve hundred at Port Royal, or with a few scores at every stride of the patriot armies. Have we looked carefully at that new aspect of the war opened upon us by the rebel retreat from Manassas? It was the hope of many that the contest would, in effect, be ended by the subjugation, and perhaps capture of that great mass of armed traitors with all their munitions; that one such stroke would dismay the whole heart of Secessia, make her knees tremble and bring her to terms. Some of us felt greatly disappointed when the news came staggering North, (no despatches walk straight,) that the hiding places where our foes had skulked so long were deserted, and that our foes had "run away," to "live and fight another day." Perhaps a great and decisive victory there, with loss of all on the rebel side, would have brought the disloyal States to their senses, and prompted them to negotiate for peace. THERE, then, might have paused the feet of the Union forces. The Northern column might have penetrated no farther as a discoverer and chain breaker amid the dark secrets of the land of bondage. The Rebel States coming forward to treat, would have come with their institutions and laws of internal life undisturbed. And slavery, by the powerful plea of making peace on gracious terms with subdued and submitting States, might have come back unsmitten to be dandled in the arms of the Union. But what is that "masterly retreat" of the rebels doing! What but drawing on the loyal advance from river to river, from State to State, till the proud old banner of freedom shall float above every plantation, and the Northern battle-axe striking in the van, shatter every fetter of the enslaved. Be it so in God's name! Let the army of deliverance march on, Despots and Despotism flying before it, and the four millions of slaves come flocking to it, four millions of Refugees, and, holding out eager hands, themselves ask the paternal Government, "what shall become of us?"

What shall the paternal Government say? Shall it leave these loosened captives, these unguided wanderers, to go to and fro on all the face of the land, closing its ears to their call, looking off into vacancy when they kneel before it, as though it saw nothing at its feet, seem neither to see or hear the rushing and roaring past of this great tide—the gathering and breaking of these sable billows—shake off the appeal, wave aside responsibility, and virtually say to the shelterless and homeless thousands, “you must take care of yourselves, you must not look to me, I have nothing to do with you, go and hide in the marshes—go and plunder where you will, go to the ‘Great Dismal Swamp’ and make much of it, for aught I care.”

Shall it gather upon its face an air of rebuke and remonstrate with these colored travelers, “where are you from?” “Are you not runaways?” “You must return to your owners, and slip your necks into the collar again.” Shall it proceed carefully and softly in search of the fugitive masters, and plead, “If you will lay down that rifle and bowie knife, I will lead you back to your estate, which I have scrupulously guarded for you, and restore you your slaves, and you will find that you have lost nothing by rebellion but a summer’s crop.”

I repeat, we are not *fighting* for the release of the slaves, and the destruction of the institution. But the child that knows least about the great rebellion, knows that it was slavery’s desperate stroke for supremacy in this land, or failing of that, for a dismemberment that should give slavery a great empire all its own. Slavery constituted that great privileged class at the South, that order of nobility that can not brook a superior. Slavery filled this lordly class with a contempt for free laborers which would make ruin itself more welcome than submission to such plebeian masters! Slavery made it necessary that those who guarded its life and perpetuity should have the control of the Government. Slavery debauched the public mind by its interpretations and perversions of the Constitution, till at last multitudes have been led honestly to think that our great national charter, instead of having been designed and framed to uphold, encourage and perpetuate liberty, was really intended to extend and secure slavery. Slavery debauched the conscience and perverted the moral views of those who lived by it, so that perjury under most solemn oaths, treachery to every sacred covenant, fraud, lying and theft were resorted to without scruple or shame. Slavery uttered the first threat when the great Republican party named its candidate to the nation. Slavery hounded the Republican President on his way

to the capital, with conspiracies and snares. Slavery was declared to be the corner stone and the top stone of the new confederacy when the great defection was complete. And slavery lifts to the sunlight and breezes of God's heaven, and to the eyes of all earth's brotherhood, its black sign and emblem in the sable bar that shades so deeply the latest rebel banner. It has been a leaven of disorder and strife through fifty years of our history; it has flatly contradicted every generous word we have spoken for freedom and human rights; it has condemned and disallowed the great democratic ideas having their embodiment in our Governmental fabric; it has clutched eagerly and savagely at every new rood of territory opened for national occupation; it has been a standing protest against what we boasted as the freer and purer civilization of the Western world; an anomaly amid our laws, institutions and social system, an internal and irreconcilable antagonism to our unity, liberty and progress—at home a pest, disgrace abroad. It has opened purposely that great chasm that stretches to-day its black gaping seam across the breadth of the land; it has kindled the baleful and devouring fires of civil war; it gave the stormy signal of battle and bloodshed before Sumter's silent walls; it has drawn millions of treasure from commerce and industry, and hundreds of thousands of lives from pleasant homes and peaceful pursuits to subdue its mad rage against the mother that sheltered it so long and tenderly, and has crimsoned the turf of our land that has been green these many years beneath heaven's dews and showers, with the red life of loyal hearts.

Shall this evil thing be the only thing of which we shall be tender and careful, now that the national will can go forth unfettered? Shall every thing else the land has rich and dear be sacrificed in this extremity, and slavery alone be saved? Shall we who love the country give up the earnings of frugal and toiling years, give up our family hopes and comforts, give up our Sabbaths and Sabbath ordinances, give up our sons and brothers, and hold life itself ready to the call, that slavery, which has struck at the country's heart, may come out of the strife with every plume unshorn? Are we sacrificing so much that we may gather again the scattered flock of States with this wolf in the midst? Do we build again the temple of the national unity with this bomb-shell as one of the stones of the rising walls, its fuse burning, and another explosion sure? Shall we conquer a peace by such suffering and outlay, and bind up with it in its covenant and treaty the same old element of rending and strife?

A few years will pass, and among our cities and villages will be seen half-built houses, half-tilled fields, enterprises of improvement and enlargement arrested in mid-career, men moving about searred and maimed—with crutches instead of implements of labor in their hands—monuments and relics of fierce battles and wasting campaigns, and our children will ask us, “what was gained by the great war?” Shall we have nothing to show for it all—no answer to give but this, “a new lease of life for slavery?”

It will not do for us to forget that this war, however set down to the score of rebel guilt, is God’s judgment upon the whole nation. The cry of the oppressed had come up before him. The “hire of the laborer” had been long kept back in our fields. Measures of limitation and of abatement for the great pestilence might have been inaugurated years ago. Compensative emancipation could have been resolved upon at any point in our history; but we were frightened at the cost, (are we doing things cheaply now?) and there were those who would not suffer the word “emancipation” to be spoken. Let the government plant such an idea, though it were in the planting but as a grain of mustard-seed, “which is the least of all seed,” and it was seen that that day and that act wrote the doom of slavery. And there were many whose consciences were ridden, night and day, by constitutional compromises, and who felt that their hands were tied. And there were many others who trembled to face the frowning cloud, the tempest heads, which lay lowering on the southern sky, and growled their thunders whenever a finger touched the bone of contention. But if there be need of repentance for the past, what should we answer to God and to history if we should falter now! Some have felt and said, perhaps, in the past, that we could not make the question of our relation to slavery a strictly *moral question*; that we could not ask, *what is just? what is right? what is philanthropic?* because we must first ask, *what does the political compact require?* But slavery now is in the field under a traitorous flag. The privileged order is converted into a standing army of rebels. They who claimed under State law and the alleged compromises of the Constitution, are found in arms against the nation’s life, and whatever is needed, in the judgment of the Executive and his advisers, to ensure victory and permanent peace, to put down rebellion and weave again the bonds of Union, is **LAWFUL NOW**. **THE GREAT CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL DELIVERANCE AND NATIONAL SAFETY IS OUR CHARTER NOW**. With what weapon can we conquer, and conquering, save the national life, and seal the public tranquility, so far

as this cause of dissension is involved, for all time to come, is the legitimate question now.

Now we can take moral views without restriction. Now, if never before, we can ask, "what is just and righteous before God?" We can show to the world, what we have all along been protesting, how our consciences have been oppressed and straitened. Nothing hinders our doing the moral right.

At one and the same time, by one and the same effective stroke, we can end the war, right the wronged, please God, ensure future peace, and redeem our dishonored name before the tribunal of a listening world.

This one great act to which I believe our country is now solemnly summoned and led, is THE EMANCIPATION OF 4,000,000 OF SLAVES.

There have been favorable and critical times in our country's history for driving the entering wedge into this vital compact system, which have found us unequal to the high duty. They have passed—with reproaches upon our cowardice and selfishness—and the dominion of the great wrong has but been strengthened. It ought not to be endured, it will not be endured, that this time should go by—this explicit offer of Providence to lift our feet from the miry clay of policies, and expediencies, and compromises, and inhumanities, and set them upon the rock of justice and eternal righteousness; and we refuse to accept deliverance. The final day of slavery must be decreed. Though distant, we must be able to see it. If we urge no particular scheme, *some* scheme of emancipation, though slow, must be entered upon, that shall pronounce it in the hearing of all the people, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." If we can not have immediate emancipation, if slavery and the war can not end together, we must have the certain vision of it before us. Nothing will satisfy us but to be assured that the great exodus is moving.

If I know the temper of the people and of the times, we are not going forward from this crisis upon uncertainties. We must not. For one, I dare not. To patch up a peace with slavery, vital as ever, nursed from its well-nigh mortal sickness into health once more, re-instated in all its power to work mischief, and to poison the fountains of our honor and our prosperity—to catch the men and women that flock to the Union ranks with the little bundles of their worldly goods in their hands, welcoming the delivering marches—testifying "bress de Lord" that it is what they have been "prayin' for and waitin' for,"

and rivet the chain upon their limbs, and press the yoke upon their neck, and hound them back to bondage again—were such affront to a just God, that the fiercest stroke of his wrath, flashing instant vengeance down, were our just recompense. If nothing more can be done now, if no key can be found at once to open the prison door, we must have unequivocal assurance that slavery is doomed—that emancipation is begun.

For myself, I believe the sooner this decisive step is taken, and the sooner it is made operative, the better. Our armies are covering the South—emancipation goes naturally with their progress, and ought to march in the van where the flag of freedom waves. The presence of the armies secures for emancipated slaves protection, government, good order, and temporary occupation. With the armies can go educational commissions, agricultural commissions, colonizing commissions, agents and directors of every name for supervising the various interests of the new freemen, and inaugurating for them an independent and self-supporting type of life and labor. A portion of the confiscated lands of slaveholding rebels through the gulf States would furnish ample accommodation for the new settlers, and their skill in raising the various products most suited to the soil might be immediately turned to account. The self-respect of recovered manhood, the incentives of competence, comfort, and self-elevation in prospect, would stimulate industry, regularity and economy. For all disorder, the police of such armed national guards as must needs be maintained for a while in the disturbed state of a conquered country would suffice. The readiness of this simple-hearted people to fall into habits of order, diligence, and sobriety, under proper supervision, *immediately upon their enlargement*, as witnessed at the points where any systematic attempts have been made to guide and control the “contrabands” that have sought our forces, must have surprised any of us who had felt that they must be slowly and patiently trained, under the yoke, for safe and prosperous freedom. EMANCIPATION IS THE SLAVES’ PREPARATION TO ENJOY IT AND USE IT WELL. The precious endowment of self-ownership carries, in its own gift, a thoughtful and provident spirit, the responsibility and the power of self-control. Make a chattel a man, and you bestow upon him, in that same boon, intellect, heart, will, sagacity, prudence, the wants, hopes, and aspirations of a man. The slaves freed thus far by the mere tread of our columns, or by the shock of battles won, have not rushed into ferocious lawlessness and wild excesses. It is not their hands that have

set fire to mansions and store-houses; burned down cities and bridges; hacked the flesh off from the bones of dead enemies, to bear about the bones as brutal trophies. They seem not to have known the dark passions of revengeful hate. They manifest only a child-like joy at the strange but long-looked-for enlargement. They are gentle, tractable, and docile. They submit themselves to tuition and direction; they show loyal hearts; they tell the truth; they are ready to labor and to save.

A correspondent of *The World*, writing from the Army of the West, has recently said:

"The fugitives are generally shrewd and industrious; and the farmers of Kansas gladly avail themselves of this supply of laborers. This is an assertion utterly at variance with the general impression. It is nevertheless literally true. In slavery, one can hardly imagine a more shiftless, indolent being than a Missouri negro. But the change from slavery to freedom effects an instantaneous and complete revolution in his character. With the consciousness of liberty comes the necessity for exertion: and effort is born of necessity. The slave who worked carelessly, felt that he had no interest in the result of his labor; no amount of industry would benefit him; and he naturally did as little as he could consistently with safety. But when he is a free man, he rises equal to the emergency. This has been the case wherever my experience has extended. There is not a man who has been liberated by this brigade but is abundantly able and willing to take care of himself. *In every case we have found the slave fit for freedom.*"

We forget that emancipation is not a new experiment. For about a quarter of a century that experiment has been going forward in the British West Indies. Its results are historic and indisputable. The predicted swift lapse of the freed men into idleness and degradation has not been witnessed. In the Island of Barbadoes, where the average price of land is five hundred dollars an acre, there are from the emancipated slaves over 3,500 proprietors of small landed estates. "The colored mechanics and artisans in this island are declared to be equal, in general intelligence, to the artisans and mechanics of any part of the world, equally remote from the great centers of civilization." (SEWELL, in *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1862.) In the Island of Jamaica, there are not less than 60,000 households of this race—proprietors of the houses and homesteads which they occupy—living in comfort, and some of them in affluence and luxury. There are

more than ten millions of dollars in the savings banks of the islands to the credit of the industry, frugality, and enterprise of these freed slaves.

A Christian missionary, writing from Jamaica, bears this testimony, as a truth of his own observation:

"I do not know where a more quiet and influential people can be found than the emancipated slaves of this island. I am ashamed (as an American) to say it, but we enjoy far greater security of both person and property than is anywhere enjoyed in the States. There is not half the necessity for bars and bolts, locks and keys. The people are law-abiding and loyal, easily controlled and governed. With the exception that the people are ignorant and unenlightened, (the result of the bondage to which they have been doomed,) there is no better state of society anywhere."

In the Island of St. Vincent, in a population of 80,000, there are no paupers, with an average church attendance of 8,000, and the criminal records showing a remarkable obedience to law.

In Guiana, though the laboring class is estimated at only 70,000 souls, so lately released from slavery, they enjoy already properties in land and houses, for which they have paid nearly half a million of dollars.—*Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1862.

And so the record runs, with variations, through the whole group.

In all—unless Trinidad, with its peculiar conditions of sparse population, cheap lands, and injudicious and selfish policy of the planters, should be considered an exception—the people are more happy and contented; in all, they are more civilized; * * * there are more provisions grown for home consumption than ever were raised in the most flourishing days of slavery; trade has largely increased, imports and exports multiplied, and a great number of minor articles produced and cultivated, which, twenty years ago, did not exist in the islands—the fruit of the industry of the free system.—*Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1862.

If such results have attended the experiment in the West India Islands, what might not be rationally hoped for here, under the stimulating and conserving missionary labors of our ever active Christianity; the calls to hope, energy, and ambition, with which all the air is vocal; the rich prizes held out to industry and success?

If the demand for labor, and the reward of labor on our own soil, were less promising for freed slaves than they would seem to us to be, there is to-day such a demand from these same West India Islands,

which the emigration of tens of thousands from these shores could not supply.

And it is an impressive and significant fact, in the experience from which we have quoted, that those islands which abolished slavery the most immediately and summarily, without any stepping-stones of half-freedom and half-apprenticeship, have shown the largest and ripest progress since the emancipating act.

It is safe to do right. There is no policy like the policy of justice. We may venture boldly where the law of God leads the way. All the divine attributes are on the side of such an experiment. To men we may appear to go rashly forward, but the path of rectitude will never betray our feet. We may descend thus to seeming weakness, but it will be only to take hold of everlasting strength.

Let us then, this day, lift up a call for *Emancipation*. Let us repeat the call till the echoes gather back upon us thick and loud; till the government, that has already broken silence with an utterance worth a hundred victories, and only waits the fitting hour to speak the word as an edict of sovereignty, shall hear the swelling chorus, and feel that the hour has come. Speak that word, and it is the death-knell of rebel hope! Speak it, and along our line of advance all confused and wavering policies in respect to the colored refugees end in clear and humane certainties. Speak it, and our noble constitution needs not one syllable of change to welcome it. Speak it, and all the relations of law, and labor, and life, in the whole land, will at once adjust themselves to it, and make room for it. Speak it, and a new era opens upon the South, as the field of competition for a world of hungry laborers. Speak it, with offers of compensative gold to the loyal master, as the long-delayed right of the bondman, as the fitting retribution for the rebel master, and yet one that carries, even to him, a blessing in it.

Speak it, that every prayer for victory may baptize and consecrate it; that our national penitence, in view of such an issue, may kiss the rod that has chastened us, with such dread cost and suffering; and that pitying hearts, that have waited so long for the year of jubilee to come to their colored brethren, may rise up, each in such rejoicing thankfulness and full satisfaction as Simeon felt—"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

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GOD'S JUDGMENTS FOR NATIONAL SINS.

BY REV. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D.,
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It is said, in the Word of God, that when his judgments are abroad in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness. Let us consider whether those judgments are abroad among us for our sins, and if so, what they are, and how many and how heavy, for God suits his judgments to our sins—indeed, makes our sins both the punishment and the plague of our life. We are, as a people, under a heavy hand. The principal feature of these judgments is, that we have been left to ourselves: we have been left to be filled with the fruit of our own doings. They are not the judgments of famine or pestilence or earthquake, the invisible and wasting scourges which go over the earth decimating and destroying by a law too subtle for our tracing and too secret for our penetration. But they proceed from the shock and collision of human agencies, directed and impelled by the conflicting passions which lie behind them. They stand before us in all the woes and horrors of a bitter, protracted, desolating civil war. From the forum of peaceful discussion and republican suffrage the controversy has been carried to the last resource of physical force—violence and blood. And this has been done under circumstances and with concomitants of evil such as to affect the whole mind and heart of the nation with every form of affliction and mental distress. Upon the more open and tangible effects of such a civil war as this, in its bearing upon the disruption of business, the destruction of property, and even the loss of human life, it is not my purpose to dwell. The shock thus given to the country, the disorder it produces, the derangement and uncertainty it occasions, the burdens it imposes, and the fortunes it destroys, are all matters with which the people of this country are but too sadly familiar. And yet, even in these things, through all the region of the adhering—with the exception of the border States—these judgments of God have thus far been tempered with singu-

2 GOD'S JUDGMENTS FOR NATIONAL SINS.

lar mercy, and have, on the general scale, been marvelously mitigated. Indeed, so far in the controversy, it is to be feared that the people inhabiting these sections of the Republic, from their comparative exemption from the storm, do not even yet take to heart the awful nature of the judgments now smiting the land, nor comprehend the extent and depth of their complicity in the sins which have culminated in this fury. I make all allowance, indeed, for what they have done and borne and suffered; but when it is all subtracted, the present thrift and drift and appearance and action and condition of the people in all those regions constitute a ground of wonder and amazement at the long suffering and tender mercy of our God.

It is, indeed, upon the people of the border States, and throughout the region where the sway of the Rebellion is still rigid and unbroken, that the woes and miseries of this tempest have hitherto been falling heaviest. And when we do but try to conceive the depth of the sorrow of the true and faithful people in those regions, and to contemplate even one tithe of what they have suffered in their most keen and sacred sensibilities, no power of words can express fully the nature and extent of their wretchedness. The disruption of business associations, the separation of families, the social ostracism, the fearful alienations of human hearts, the cruelties perpetrated, the scenes of persecution, the grinding heel of despotism, the awful profanity and jocularly of Death in his murderous round—surely, nothing in the horrors of the French Revolution can be said to have transcended the woes and persecutions of men, women, and children, whose only provocation to their tormentors is their unchanging love and devotion for the Union and the Government of their fathers. The same spirit—though in a form as yet modified and restrained—we have witnessed and felt here in the very Capital of the country.

The lines of division have run right through old and long-established friendships, have sundered pastors and people, have made a man's foes even those of his own household, and have engendered the bitterness and fostered the prejudices that ever walk forth as the premonitory specters of social and ecclesiastical dissolution; so that the question is no longer a mere question of party politics or preference for a candidate, or a question of some measure of sectional or local policy, but it is a question of fundamental character, a question of human right and duty, a question of human con-

science, a question of life or death of a mighty nation; and along with this there are questions of the most amazing and appalling complication and difficulty, all arising from the confusion and variety of public sentiment, and from the moral obliquity and perversion of the national mind and heart. The very things which now strain and try this nation are traceable to the sins of the nation. It is not ignorance that is trying us now, but willful, wanton blindness, unreasoning selfishness, and the practical atheism of the people, from which all the outgrowth springs of all our follies and errors, our crimes and sins and miseries—passion and prejudice, mutual jealousy, suspicion, lust for power, attended by all the arts of the demagogue, by the reeking venality and unblushing wickedness of the public press. These are the real judgments which now lie upon the land—which now confuse and bewilder those who would be honest, who desire to be true, who want nothing in this controversy but what is right, but what is in accordance with the will and law of God, and who would gladly do what they may to establish the institutions of the Government upon a sure foundation of public righteousness—who feel it is no time for sophistries and technicalities, for quibbles and formalities, but who go for the substance of doctrines, the eternal righteousness of God, in all the relations of man to his fellow-man, as well as of men to God. And because we are confounded in these things, and do not even yet know whether a lie is in our right hand, we are still groping and stumbling in the dark mountain of sin and shame, our eyes blinded, our ears heavy, our hearts hardened, and our hands paralyzed. We are as a nation in a stupor, feeling the sharp sting of God's goads spurring us out of our swoon, but yet drowsy and but little awake.

And now we have no right to shut our eyes to the sins which form the ground of indictment against us. We are guilty if we attempt to do this, guilty in the attempted concealment, and we are really the more culpable if we undertake to blink or flinch from the full acknowledgment and recognition of any one of the sins of which we, as individuals or communities, or as a nation, have been guilty in the sight of Heaven. But where shall we begin the catalogue of these iniquities? It is even difficult to classify and document them, so manifold and variant, with a language more copious in terms that signify human delinquencies than it is even in those referring to any other subject whatever; we should yet exhaust our mother tongue long before we could express the full tale of human iniquity and

transgression. Private sins and public sins, secret sins and open sins, personal sins and social sins, sins of the heart and sins of the life, sins in the family and sins in the Church, sins in business life, sins in fashionable life, sins of the flesh and sins of the spirit, sins of omission and sins of commission, sins of ignorance and sins of wantonness, sins of civil and sins of official life, sins political and sins ecclesiastical.

But we must be more specific, and at the same time more general, if possible, in considering what have been the moral and spiritual causes that have led us so far astray from the paths of rectitude, and so deeply in the courses of corruption and dishonor. All sin is fiery, and eats as doth a canker. It riddles out the very basis of moral character in man; it frets and wears away the warp and woof of the confidences and securities of human life. It is the moral *azote*. Nothing of spiritual purity can live in its presence. Under its impulse and dominion men have their lusts excited, their passions inflamed, their understandings darkened, their consciences seared, and their hearts hardened. So prepared, they enter upon life, and in the choice of avocations, of associations, of aims, and of means to those aims, they are constantly exposed to powerful temptations, which break down all moral restraint, and send them on in a career of immorality, impiety, and dishonesty, which not only proves their own ruin, but seriously tends to injure and corrupt all with whom they come in contact. Out of all this mass of human iniquity, certain cardinal forms of human sin and profligacy appear.

In defining national offenses, each man must pursue his own method and make his own distinctions. I am not disposed to be over nice and careful in adhering strictly to the technical points of the political phraseology of the day. I shall consider those sins national which are known as open, public, or general, whether in a form organized or unorganized. I shall consider those as national sins which involve the great majority of the people in their practice, their motive, or their sympathy. On the subject of private and personal sins, which are to be confessed and repaired in a manner corresponding to their nature, I need not now undertake, as it would be manifestly impossible to dwell, any further than to say, that the whole aggregate of them, no doubt, furnish one serious and solemn reason for the private and public afflictions that are resting on all the land. But there are some general and positive forms of sin which it would, in my judgment, be the sheerest hypocrisy to overlook.

I. And the first I mention is the practical rejection of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, by vast numbers of the people, though it has been proclaimed to them over and over again. This is so general that it amounts, in my estimation, to a national sin of the deepest dye. It is tantamount to a charge of irreligion, impiety, and atheism, and is the sin for which every man who stands in it is now arraigned before God. This is their condemnation, that light has come into the world and men have chosen darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. He that believeth not in Christ is condemned already. I believe in my soul that God is angry with this nation, and is now bringing us into judgment because we have so many of us failed to confess Jesus Christ before men and to receive his spiritual kingdom into our hearts, with all its laws, agencies, influences, and effects. And I put this first and foremost, because it is a practical denial of God in the kingdom of his grace, and in the last means and methods he ever designs to employ for the recovery and salvation of mankind. It is, in effect, utterly ignoring his prerogative, despising his authority, and setting at naught his very mercy and compassion. It is the deepest insult and the foulest dishonor we can ever pay to him; because, under the present dispensation, it prepares the way for every other indignity in the catalogue of human guilt.

II. Again, I mention idolatry as a cardinal sin of which we have, in many forms, been guilty. It follows, that, if men who must have some object of supreme desire to which they pay supreme devotion, will not have God for their object, they will virtually dethrone him in their hearts and establish there some idol of the age of a Christian civilization. We have all had gods of one kind or other before the Lord God Jehovah, and have worshiped our idol, whatever it be, without regard to the claims, the commandments, or the statutes of the one only true and ever-living God. I believe that he is angry with us for this, and that his indignation is now smoking against us and against all our idol deities that we have cherished in the land.

III. Again, I mention the general neglect and violation of God's ordinances, the Sabbath and the sanctuary, and the profanation of his name. The whole air is loaded with a foul-mouthed profanity; and, in fact, all this is accompanied by a degree of levity, vulgarity, and vanity, that are well-nigh as universal as appalling. Men who profess to be loyal to their country, openly and shamelessly

trample on the Sabbath, and provoke Him to anger who has said : "I will not hold him guiltless that taketh my name in vain." I believe God is angry with us for this, and that his anger smokes and will smoke at the profane and impious race of men who treat the whole subject of Christianity, with its requirements and restraints, as a mere story, an idle song, and conduct in regard to it as if it were only a figment or fiction of the past.

IV. Again, I mention the general corruption of manners and morals which is manifest in vice and dissipation, in excess and extravagance and intemperance, everywhere—in the highest circles of fashion, in the lowest depths of infamy—and all this fostered and catered to by the bold and reckless corruptors of society, while the well-nigh total failure to correct, restrain, or extinguish the public profligacy of the times, either by family or primary instruction, by a Christian or public sentiment, by the laws of the land, or through the officers of the Government itself—is a delinquency so great as to enhance our criminality and increase the evils of our condition a thousandfold. There is no doubt but we are suffering from these evils in all the ramifications of human society; and, in this respect, if God's wrath be not turned away by timely repentance, we must share the fate of every other people whose very luxuries and licenses have enervated them and finally destroyed them.

V. I mention, again, the spirit of cruelty and oppression which has marked the white race of America toward the Indian and the African. When the chapter of our usurpations and perfidies toward the aborigines of this country shall be fully disclosed, we shall find, I greatly fear, that, notwithstanding the treacherous and savage dispositions of the barbarians, the refinements of infamy which the dominant race have practiced upon them are not less repugnant to truth and justice, or heinous in the sight of God. And then, as to the evils and wrongs of human bondage. When I come to speak on this subject, I am well aware that I touch the sensitive nerves—the sore spot—of this whole nation. And yet, though I should encounter the settled convictions and prejudices of every man in the nation, I feel that I should not have performed my whole duty this day without plainly setting before you my estimate of the subject as it appears to me in the present light; and when I have done this as briefly as possible, I shall feel that I have finished my testimony in respect to this question, by exhausting, so far as I am able, the obligations that rest upon me.

First, then, I believe that the system of slavery, as it has existed in our country, when viewed only in the light of the consequences that have followed it, has been an evil and a curse of the most appalling magnitude and enormity. To say nothing of its incidental and inherent wrongs upon the African race, it has been the apple of discord among the ruling race, that has wrought more dissension, more animosity, and more lasting bitterness, than any one or all other causes combined, since the foundation of the Government. The traces of this evil are in the Federal Constitution, legislation, and history of the country; but the spirit of the evil lies back of all written or documentary instruments, in the unsanctified mind and heart and passion of man—lies in commercial cupidity and ambition for political aristocracy and power. And, therefore, I do not believe that any one portion of the people in any one section of the land are alone to be blamed or held accountable for whatever of sin or suffering this system may have entailed upon us. Since the war broke out, and the great events of its progress thus far have transpired, I am disposed to stand equally amazed at the proofs of human insincerity on the one hand, and the claims of Divine authority on the other. I am constrained to censure the injustice of the laws of exclusion against this outcast portion of God's human creatures, and to denounce the cruel, preposterous, and inexorable prejudice in which those laws are founded. I believe, in short, that the all-seeing eye of God beholds a degree of selfishness, hypocrisy, inconsistency, and false philanthropy upon this subject, which positively amounts to the infatuation and frenzy of judicial blindness among all the people, East and West, North and South, and which, of itself, would be sufficient to sink the whole nation into the nethermost pit of perdition. And after long years of angry and embittered controversy, in which men have not known the manner of spirit they were of, this great, fearful, complicated mass of guilt and misery—this awful nightmare and incubus which was lying across the very vitals of the nation, which no skill or foresight of human wisdom could remedy or relieve—has been thrown into the mighty scales of civil war, and the sword of God is unsheathed to cut the knot of this more than Gordian mystery, and to rip from the heart of the nation the disguises that have hidden our own real condition from our eyes, and to solve, in unanticipated ways, and by means we never could have foreseen, the questions connected with this subject, which have hitherto been both our torment and our shame. I believe that the

time had come when nothing but war was left to open our eyes to our own true moral state in the sight of God, and to educate the mind and the heart of the nation to a new platform of doctrine, sentiment, and opinion on this as well as on every other great interest of mankind, in the advancing day of a Christian civilization. I believe it is the design of God that the system of African slavery shall pass away, and that the true era of its decline was struck when the first gun of the rebellion made its booming salutation to the brave Anderson and his little band under the casemates at Sumter.

VI. And now, once more, I mention another crying and crushing sin that we have to lament and deplore to-day—the sin of secession and rebellion against the Government of the United States, and the connivance of secret sympathizers and abettors. I regard this as a high crime against God and man—not a mere mistake or misfortune—save where men and women are compelled or constrained to act in the character of traitors and rebels by the despotic mandate of the arch-conspirators against the integrity, the peace, and safety of the commonwealth. That there was a foul and shameful conspiracy, attended by the insolence and ferocity of fiends in human shape, first to assassinate the President-elect on his way to the Capital, and afterward to seize the city, and murder Union men, women, and children, there is not the slightest doubt. And if the secret history of the plots of these men could come to light, it would, no doubt, startle the whole nation with the horrors of these contemplated atrocities; and if we look at the persecution and distress inflicted on the innocent wherever the ruthless perjurers have been able to hold their sway, we shall find, that not in all the annals of martyrdom have our heroic and faithful countrymen been transcended by examples either in the lofty spirit of their devotion or in the brutal and bloody savagery of their oppressors. And yet this Government has been unable and unwilling to afford them any relief, while it shelters and protects and feeds, with a most criminal indulgence, the secret enemies of its existence, who live beneath the very shadow of the Capitol, detesting it in its magnanimity, and applauding the open treason with which an armed front is clutching at its very throat. Amazed at such a state of things, I sometimes wonder what posterity will think, in the clear light of a coming day—which, I pray, may succeed the darkness of the present night—in contemplation of the subtlety and the depth of the treachery that pervades every nook and cor-

ner: and whether they will be more astonished at the madness of disloyalty in its perversion of the plainest principle of common honesty and duty, or at the toleration and clemency of a Government which, after two years of suffering, disaster, and humiliation, still fails not to cherish in its bosom this nest of vipers. Nor am I constrained to speak thus of a portion of our community from any spirit or desire of personal violence or capital retribution but such as the necessities of the general safety and of self-preservation imperatively demand. I only feel that the community ought to be cleared of the spirit of disloyalty, by a division of those whose hearts are with the South in this rebellion from those whose hearts are with the Government up to the full standard of Scriptural obedience. This is the only way that I know of in which we can repent of and forsake the sin of sedition and revolt.

Those who feel at heart no allegiance to the Government should be put beyond the lines, at least. That is the gentlest visitation that the authorities can lawfully bestow: for this is no question of party politics, and I deny the impeachment of it in the most emphatic terms. It is purely a question of religious duty, which we owe to God and our country. And if we mean to forsake our sins; if we mean to put away from among us the abominable thing; if we mean to return unto God with all our hearts, we must recur to the law of the Bible: "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out; if thine hand offend thee, cut it off." May we have before us, in this passage from the prophet, the true solution of the issues that are pending.

Now, when the ship of state, freighted as it is with all our memories and all our hopes, lies tossing in the tempest; when it is no longer a question of policy or preference, as between rival parties and candidates in time of peace, but a deeper, broader, more vital question of the triumph of the Government and the *conscience* of the American people over a system of usurpation and despotism, sustained by an organized and armed rebellion against them—now, when a fierce and bloody attempt is made to undermine the very foundations of social order, and to pull down the noblest structure of empire the sun has ever shone upon, and to sunder a land that was once most happy in all the arts and industries of advancing civilization, and to blot out from the face of the globe the unity of a mighty nation, and to impair forever the greatness and the usefulness of a people among whom the divine principles and precepts of Christianity itself have had their freest and their noblest

scope—would it not be thought a thing incredible that the Christian people and the Christian ministry of this land should stand aloof, should manifest a deep and profound indifference, should undertake to live and act and preach and think and feel as though there was no war and no judgment of God among us whatever? And all this, too, while the whole history of the nation, hitherto, has been marked by one continued succession of providential interpositions for deliverance—one constant series of examples of the presence and influence of the Christian element working out our national destiny. Without Christianity the story of America never could have been told. Those manifold and mighty monuments which cover the land could never have been reared. None but God can see the effects of Christian prayer and fidelity in the testimony of Christian truth upon the fortunes of this nation. And now, in such a land, with such a record and such a prospect, and in such a condition, when we feel and know that blows are being struck which, if not repelled, must not only destroy our civil heritage, but also roll back the chariot of human salvation for a thousand years—can the disciples and ministers of this religion, which has, more than all other things, made the land a blessing, be excused from the duties and trials which now rest upon the nation? Nay, do you not look to the Christian sentiment and opinion of this country for continuance and support? Do you not rely on the loyalty and the prayers of the Christian people of this country, as constituting, under God, the firmest and most unwavering prop and pillar of the nation's strength? If this be so, then I declare, in the name of the Christian Church, and of all that follow the great Head of the Church in this land, that, as they have never heretofore been found wanting in the hour of their country's need, so they will not now be found wanting. For when it comes to this, the old religion, which has, for eighteen hundred years, produced the heroes and martyrs of the world, will rise again, and lead her mighty processions into the thickest of the contest. And not till the Church of Christ has been utterly overthrown, and not until her prayer goes out, and her last soul is offered upon the altar of expiring liberty, will it be time for men to say: "There is no longer any hope;" and not until then can the cause of human nature everywhere be ruined. And for this reason it is, that, in the name of the Church, we lift up our voices, "cry aloud and spare not," showing the people their sins and transgressions. The Christian mind of this nation beholds the

spectacle we now present with a feeling of the deepest solemnity and the most painful suspense. The Christian mind of this nation interprets the afflictions and our sufferings now as the judgments of God for our moral obliquity. It holds that there is a righteousness which exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people. It holds that, in a crisis like this, there is but one inspiration that can carry us through in triumph, and that is the inspiration of the Almighty. It holds that among the first signs of the presence of such an inspiration is the general return of the people to sobriety and virtue; and, therefore, it views, with pain and grief, with apprehension and alarm, the almost universal reign of vice, vulgarity, and impiety. And because the nation has been so long blinded and indifferent to the principles of truth, and so long disobedient to the authority of God, he has not only kindled the fire of this furnace, but he is adding fuel to the flames, and holding us in them, that we may be either purified or consumed. That is the issue now before us—purification or destruction. It is comparatively of little account what may be the tidings from the great sieges or the battle-fields of our forces, what may be the conditions of the currency, or the result of local elections, or, indeed, what may be the daily contingencies or details that fall out to us in the history of this great time; but the true question is, Whether, amid all these millions of human beings, a sufficient number may be found upon whom the inspiration of the Almighty has descended to render it consistent with his most gracious purpose, and with the character of his supreme government over men, to interpose and give us the victory? If this point in the moral and religious condition of the American people can be attained, then we have no fear for the remainder. The same power that delivered the people of the Hebrew nation with a high hand and a stretched-out arm; the same power that shielded the people of the Netherlands against the combined attack of the greatest potentates of the time in Europe; the same power that brought our fathers through the bloody baptism of the Revolution, and gave to them to bequeath to us, their children, this glorious inheritance, will thunder for us along our lines of battle, and put our enemies to rout and confusion forever.

I have this faith, then, in the overruling providence of God; and so believing, let me implore my fellow-countrymen to pause and consider how we may best serve our country and our Christ in this time of their need, for a bitter curse fell upon Meroz because she

came not up to the help of the Lord against the mighty: and I honestly believe that a deep and bitter curse will fall upon that man, that family, that community, that Church, that will now draw back from following the Lord in the pathway of his present providence over this nation. How, then, can you serve America in this hour of wrath? Men, women, and children, young men, old men, all men, he is the truest patriot, the best lover of his country, the wisest and most efficient friend and helper, who is the most consistent, earnest, and prayerful Christian. If you would serve the cause of your country, cease to do evil, and learn to do well; let the wicked forsake his ways and the unrighteous man his thoughts. If you have received a bribe, restore it. If you have profaned the name of God, abandon it. If you have trampled on the Sabbath-day, trample on it no more. If one has been an infidel, a debaucher, an inebriate; if one has acted dishonestly, suppressed the truth, corrupted others, defrauded men of their rights, do it no more. O, become a true man once again; abandon every vice and every iniquity; be a man sobered and chastened by the great realities and severities of the times—a man no longer for the levity and vain dalliance of the past, but full of the mighty thoughts and stern resolves and steady purposes of present duty. We can not any longer trifle before God. These are days of sacrifice, the days of heroic suffering, the days of many and most noble martyrdoms.

Let us look defeat, disaster, and even death, if need be, steadily and calmly in the face, and, grasping the pillars of God's eternal truth and justice, and holding up our country and all its interests before his throne, let us entreat him to turn us from our transgressions, that iniquity may not be our ruin. The host of God, bearing the ark of our sacred institutions, and moving, the standard of a mighty people, in this last exodus of civil and religious liberty, is now already on its march. The trumpets of Providence have summoned the millions of our country to its peril and its toil. The pillar of fire by night, and of cloud by day, is moving before us. We are standing face to face with God, while his majesty fills our hearts with awe. May his mercy arm us with strength to live and labor, to watch and pray, to suffer and die for our native country and for the kingdom of Jesus. O, walk softly, all ye people, walk softly, for God is among us, and the Searcher of hearts is trying us as the gold is tried.